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**A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON  
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA**  
*(Received in December 1983)*

*January 1984*

*Author: Elizabeth R. Curtiss*

## PREFACE

This bibliography is the third issue of a monthly series on the nations of South Asia. Countries included are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. There is a general South Asia section for works having multilateral implications. The compilation is selective and is intended primarily as a reference work to support research on the foreign relations, governments, politics, and economics of the nations concerned. Material included is both retrospective and current, and represents works received, catalogued, indexed, or published during December 1983.

Citations with accompanying abstracts are listed by country initially and then alphabetically by author within each country section. Citations unaccompanied by abstracts indicate that the actual copy of the cited work was not on hand at the time of this compilation. Such material will be abstracted in a subsequent issue.

Word processing on this issue was accomplished by Mary Ann Taylor.

A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY  
OF THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA

AFGHANISTAN

Collins, Joseph. "Soviet Military Performance in Afghanistan: A Preliminary Assessment." Comparative Strategy, vol. 4 (1983), p. 147.

The author, who teaches at the US Military Academy, begins with a concise recitation of several obscure but significant pre-invasion milestones, such as an Afghan massacre of Soviet civilians at Herat in 1979. He describes the invasion by emphasizing the stages of takeover throughout the country, giving an eyewitness account of the occupation of the Darulaman Palace. Collins' evaluation of the military situation today underscores the experimental use of chemical weapons and air strategy; he also asserts that Soviets are doing the bulk of the fighting. His conclusions are striking: that Afghanistan has taught the Soviets they cannot attempt a similar move in Iran, even with Afghan airbases for staging; and that any arms treaties with the USSR are pointless unless contracting parties can independently verify Soviet compliance. Finally, he cautions that Andropov has not finished consolidating his regime, and that events in Afghanistan may yet be altered in accordance with shifting realities in the Kremlin.

Morello, Ted. "Ripe for Action." Far Eastern Economic Review, 8 December 1983, p. 43.

After months of "indirect negotiations" in Geneva, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar wants to see some movement into substantive issues. Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan has turned in a program proposal, which remains secret. The Foreign Minister's public remarks suggest that he has called for a Soviet troop withdrawal taking 6 months (Kabul-Moscow has proposed 12-18 months), as well as urgent repatriation of the three million Afghan refugees, perhaps with assistance from UNHCR polling devices. Now Kabul-Moscow must turn in a proposal.

Sareen, Rajendra. "The Kabul Miscalculation." Far Eastern Economic Review, 29 December 1983, p. 26.

A review of the year in Afghanistan emphasizes that the Soviet invaders still face imposing economic, political, and military obstacles in pursuit of uncertain goals. Factionalism within the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) has become more of a problem than previously, and the increased public discussion of a role for former King Zaher Shah has introduced an element of novelty. Sidebars detail the changing economy, and the work of Ahmad Shah Massoud of Panjsher Valley, a mujahid who is taking the lead in forming coalitions among resistance fighters. A companion article portrays today's Kabul as a place where it is safer to show an American dollar than a Soviet flag.

BANGLADESH

"Dismounting with Dignity." The Economist, 10 December 1983, p. 13.

Two martial law governments have recently given over to elected heads: Argentina is now a fully democratic nation and Turkey's new President retains martial law and a role for the military, while loosening other public controls. President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan admires Turkey's President Evren; maybe if his personal safety could be assured, Zia would accept as much or more civilian power than Evren does. The editorial also points out that fair, open elections would humiliate the Pakistan People's Party, which has virtually no support outside the Sind. The writers praise the example of the late President of Bangladesh, Ziaur Rahman, who was assassinated as soon as he began walking the road to democracy.

Kamaluddin, S. "Diplomatic Poker." Far Eastern Economic Review, 15 December 1983, p. 24.

The Soviet Union has used Bangladesh as a dumping ground for diplomats expelled from other countries, and has built up a staff far in excess of its overt needs in the tiny nation. Bangladesh has asked the Soviets to close their cultural center in Dhaka, and has been met halfway: it is "closed for renovation" pending official written instruction from the martial law regime. This episode continues a long history of flare-ups between the two nations regarding the Soviet abuse of its diplomatic privileges in Dhaka.

Kamaluddin, S. "Thrust, Counterthrust." Far Eastern Economic Review, 8 December 1983, p. 31.

After a sit-in near the Government Secretariat ended with 75,000 demonstrators hurling bricks and stones, President Ershad reimposed a ban on political activity, along with a night curfew in Dhaka. Campaign rights had been given 15 days earlier when the President announced elections for 1983-84 on a sequential schedule. The opposition parties, two of them led by female survivors of former presidents of Bangladesh, have organized these demonstrations around the goal of changing the sequence of the district, presidential and parliamentary elections. The two women have been placed in "protective custody" for the time being, although they remain major political figures.

Mitra, Sumit. "Looking for Legitimacy." India Today, 15 December 1983, p. 45.

President H. M. Ershad is expected to be elected to the office which he now holds by self-appointment when voters decide its occupant in 1984. Despite the ban on political activity following violent demonstrations, he has reiterated his promise of those elections. However, unlike his predecessor, who successfully made the transition from military leader to statesman, Ershad is hated by and hates the politicians in the country, who resent his not having participated in the liberation struggle of 1971-72. Although they disagree among themselves on all other subjects, they have together called

for a change in the announced sequence of elections. In an accompanying interview, Lt. Gen. Ershad predicts that adequate infrastructure development aid can make Bangladesh self-sufficient in 2 years.

Woodward, Berton. "I've Become a Political Man." Asiaweek, 25 November 1983, p. 23.

In this interview, H. M. Ershad asserts that his role of martial law administrator stimulated a natural evolution into a politician, as he instituted development programs and elected councils in the districts and villages. In the future, he plans to encourage the private sector as much as the public sector, although several organization will have to remain under state control. Relations with India are good, he says, and he has not been officially notified that their common border is being fenced off.

#### INDIA

Ahmed, Farzand. "Borderline Cases." India Today, 15 November 1983, p. 24.

Indian Hindu agitation against Muslims, on suspicion of being foreigners from Bangladesh, has now spread from Assam to Bihar. In a victory for the Hinduphile Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the state government has requested about 60,000 people to prove that they are Indians or get out of Bihar. Not even influential families have been spared, and communal tensions are rising accordingly. In the past, such issues have led to loss of life in Bihar, and local Congress (I) figures are attempting to soothe feelings on both sides.

Ahmed, Farzand. "In the Twilight Zone." India Today, 15 November 1983, p. 49.

Despite the constitutional ban on child labor, Bihar still has 13 districts dominated by beedi rolling--which employs members of all generations in the unhealthy, underpaid work of rolling cigarettes. Children begin before they are 5 years old, and continue until their health has been ruined by the work environment, after a lifetime of handling the dangerous substance (tobacco) and the effects of the grinding poverty in which this livelihood barely supports them. Everyone looks older than their years and suffers lung ailments. The government has made attempts to solve the problems of child labor but cannot compete with the lure of the profits in the cigarette industry.

Ali, Salamat. "Escalating Confrontation." Far Eastern Economic Review, 24 November 1983, p. 30.

The populous, impoverished Indian state of West Bengal has had a Left Front government, dominated by the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) for 7 years. Lately, without a decline in CPI-M strength, the Congress (I) Party has begun to pick up support from voters formerly associated with smaller

parties of both the left and right. At the same time, the CPI-M is listening to new approaches to the state's pressing development problems, and is also exploring the formation of a national coalition with other opposition parties holding state governments. Federal elections are due by 1985. For Congress (I) to retake West Bengal's state ministries, it would have to find a strong local figure who can erase its reputation for flagrant corruption--something the Congress (I) has lacked at all levels and is not likely to find here either.

Ali, Salamat. "Little Southern Comfort." Far Eastern Economic Review, 8 December 1983, p. 40.

Congress (I)'s future in South India is up for debate when the Lok Sabha takes up the question of that party's recent attempts to destabilize the Janata Party Government in Karnataka by inviting legislators to change party. Four major southern Indian states are ruled by opposition parties, but they bear little resemblance to each other. A companion profile of Karnataka reveals a state well-administered under the previous Congress (I) government. However, because of extreme personal corruption of party leaders, the state is now trying government under the more traditionalist Janata Party. Karnataka has been prosperous due to the climate and the growth of Bangalore as India's scientific and industrial center. Now the government hopes to decentralize power at the state level, and has proposed district councils and local financial options which could forever destroy the nodes of power which allow the personal corruption of public figures. Already the Congress (I) has seen its power bases subtly eroded. Whether the new policies can withstand the pressure of the 1985 elections may determine the future of the only party besides Congress to hold national power.

Ali, Salamat. "A Problem of History." Far Eastern Economic Review, 15 December 1983, p. 44.

In 1950 India and Nepal signed a treaty continuing the British policy of allowing citizens to work and travel in either country without documents. Now a group of Nepalese in India is demanding a separate state and official status in India for their language. Meanwhile, in Nepal, the influx of Indians dominates the economy and sends out more foreign exchange than is sent in by Nepalese expatriates. Nepal wants to renegotiate the treaty, inaugurating passports, visas and work permits for Indians in the mountain kingdom. As a stopgap the two countries are setting up joint teams to survey the border, upgrade boundary markers, and remove about five hundred Indian families from the no-man's land between the two countries.

Chand, Attar. World Energy Order, 1924-1983. New Delhi: Academic, 1983. 283 pp.

Billed as a "documentary survey," this collection of data touches upon every commercial energy source from nuclear power to wind power. The author presents an historical analysis of the development of each fuel by country,

with emphasis on South Asia and India. Although a wealth of statistical morsels are there for the taking, the work suffers from poor organization and a disregard for thematic continuity. The bibliographic entries are useful for analysts concerned with energy issues. (appendix, index, bibliography)

Chawla, Prabhu. "Return of the Prodigals." India Today, 30 November 1983, p. 22.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is preparing for the coming federal elections (scheduled for 1985) by welcoming a number of prodigal members back into her Congress (I) Party. The party faithful are upset to see former enemies standing on platforms with the Prime Minister and her son and heir apparent, Rajiv. The terms of reconciliation are that returnees must accept Mrs. Gandhi's leadership and the philosophy of the party, and be untouched by scandal and corruption--with the possible exception of those who have large, firm followings. Politicians with links to communal or extreme left or rightwing organizations are not being considered for restitution.

Gupta, Shekhar. "A State of Fear." India Today, 15 December 1983, p. 18.

Continuing killings in the Punjab leave police afraid to identify themselves or to interrogate suspected extremists, while unprecedented numbers of Hindus have taken up legal and illegal arms. Moderate Hindus and Sikhs deplore the killings, but Sikh extremist Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale compares them with Hindu police killings of Sikh demonstrators. Although police believe ordinary criminals have begun taking advantage of the chaos, and of lax bank security, the Gandhi camp is raising its perennial accusations of Pakistani instigation. Local officials call the evidence for this, circumstantial at best. Meanwhile, the Supreme Court has agreed to take up the matter of water distribution which has been a key demand of moderate Sikhs. Sidebar articles accompany.

"Hinduism Uncoiled." The Economist, 10 December 1983, p. 36.

Growing disenchantment with government gives religious extremism a wider field for play. Sikhs have been killing Hindus at random, now Hindus have taken up the torch against Sikh holy places--although they have so far burned none currently in use. The Federal Government also has held off entering the most holy Sikh shrine, the Golden Temple, where Sikh extremist Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale has taken refuge. Elsewhere groups of Hindus associated with the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) have been accused of an attempt at mass conversions of Muslims and Christians back to Hinduism. Gandhi has ordered increased police supervision of this group's processions.

Mitra, Sumit. "Road to Revival." India Today, 30 November 1983, p. 82.

A group called the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) has organized a variety of pseudo-religious observances throughout northern India, and have attracted

an unexpectedly strong public following, including many Hindu leaders. VHP denies having political goals, but several Congress (I) figures have associated themselves with the marches and speeches; the king and queen of Nepal have officially blessed the marches. VHP has aroused some backlash with its claim that the caste system, and particularly untouchability, are alien to Hinduism. The movement could be interpreted as a response to increased political mobilization among Muslims, who form 10 percent of India's population but tend to vote as a bloc, and are therefore a courted faction.

Pal, Hamendar Bhisham. The Territorial Army. New Delhi: Tulsi, 1983. 94 pp.

India's Territorial Army, as described in this book, compares to the US National Guard. The author, who served with the Territorials during the 1965 and 1971 Wars, briefly describes the three types of units: Infantry, Rail-way, and General Hospital, and gives examples of work done by each. In addition to the history of the Territorials as a whole, he gives the story of each of the most famous units by name and number, and discusses the Territorials' training, mobilization, and most notable achievements. Several chapters give similar information on the reserve systems of other countries: British, Malaysian, and Yugoslav Territorial Forces, the Israeli Reserve Forces ("This country can be cited as an instance of development of an ideal volunteer force."), the Citizen Military Forces of Australia, the US National Guard and the Territorial Reserves of the German Federal Republic. (annexes, epilogue, photographs, tables)

Ram, Mohan. "Some Common Ground." Far Eastern Economic Review, 10 November 1983, p. 22.

Border disputes have long been an open wound in the otherwise good relations between India and China. In 1962, China militarily annexed territory India considered its own under mutual understanding. Since then, India has refused to negotiate the border until China agrees to discuss each bit of land separately. The two nations have now agreed to try constructing a bargaining formula which is somewhere between China's sought-after "package-deal," and India's acre-by-acre gambit. China has also agreed to review traditional conceptions of ownership and customary status when reaching a decision. This is the first major progress between the parties in two decades.

Ram, Mohan. "Quicker by Underground." Far Eastern Economic Review, 10 November 1983, p. 102.

Ten or more percent of India's GNP is "black money." Black wealth may account for half again the reported GNP. Ram points out the main ways in which this money is earned or laundered, and its impact on the Indian economy. Most analysts now believe black transactions are a structural element in Indian commerce, moral or not, never to be removed. Such transactions exist particularly in the construction industry, the raw materials trade, smuggling, and politics. So long as the official ceiling on expenditures allowed per vote will not even pay for a postcard to each home, politicians

will depend on, and therefore look kindly on, those who benefit from unreported deals. Sidebar articles accompany.

"The Sabres Rattle." Far Eastern Economic Review, 8 December 1983, p. 40.

Tensions between India and Pakistan have reached a historical high level, but the Indian Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis says war is not likely. Prime Minister Gandhi insists that India faces grave dangers from Pakistan and "other agencies," and the country cannot withstand such threats during political quarrels. Opposition figures say she is trying to bluff the voters in order to call and win an election in early 1984. Although seasonal troop movements take place every year at this time, Pakistan's scale of build-up is unusual: 4 corps with the strength of 12 divisions. One possible reason: to protect the border during a crackdown in Sind.

Sethi, Sunil and Kapoor, Coomi. "City on the Brink." India Today, 15 November 1983, p. 30.

Bombay, once a "glittering Hollywood by the sea," is fast being replaced by a city in which vehicular traffic is slowed by incessant traffic jams, common criminals keep police at bay, and unpaved residents proliferate in squatter slums. The reason: that old dream, now so tarnished, still beckons rural Indians to try their luck in textile mills and the tourist trades. Although their accommodations are squalid, they retain a hope of doing better than they did wherever they came from. Another reason: failure of urban planning has prevented the island city from expanding into New Bombay, the adjacent area on the mainland where there is room for growth, but no reliable telephone service or transportation link with the original metropolis. Sidebar articles accompany.

#### NEPAL

Ali, Salamat. "A Problem of History." Far Eastern Economic Review, 15 December 1983, p. 44.

In 1950 India and Nepal signed a treaty continuing the British policy of allowing citizens to work and travel in either country without documents. Now a group of Nepalese in India are demanding a separate state and official status in India for their language. Meanwhile, in Nepal, the influx of Indians dominates the economy and sends out more foreign exchange than is sent in by Nepalese expatriates. Nepal wants to renegotiate the treaty, inaugurating passports, visas and work permits for Indians in the mountain kingdom. As a stopgap the two countries are setting up joint teams to survey the border, upgrade boundary markers, and remove about 500 Indian families from the no-man's land between the two countries.

"'A Lot Depends on People's Confidence.'" Asiaweek, 2 December 1983, p. 19.

In this interview, the Prime Minister of Nepal, Mr. Lokendra Bahadur Chand, gives his views on problems with his large neighbors, poverty in his country,

official corruption, and the future. Nepal's most pressing problems continue to be economic, particularly since the last 3 or 4 years have rendered the average Nepalese farmer dependent on commerce rather than self-sufficient. The government hopes to provide inputs such as seeds and fertilizers, and enhance irrigation facilities. Despite recent occasional problems with China and India, Prime Minister Chand says that overall relations are fine with both of Nepal's neighbors. He reiterates the aspiration that open dialogue in Nepal will lead to restoration of full democracy, and notes the release of political prisoners.

Ray, Hemen. China's Strategy in Nepal. New Delhi: Radiant, 1983, 122 pp.

Ray's work provides three research tools: a factual treatment of relations among Nepal, China, India, and the Soviet Union since 1960, good footnotes, and substantive exposition of the thesis that Nepalese foreign policy in this era has been determined by a bitter Indophobia. China has responded by selling itself as a counterweight to India, and has engaged in aggressive ideological imperialism within the mountain kingdom. The author thinks the Nepalese have taken a too-benign view of the military utility which these Chinese "benefactors" might derive from the highway they built from the Tibetan border to Kathmandu. Ray also attacks the current king, Birendra, for siding with Pakistan in the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Ultimately, he concludes, the Chinese cannot overcome India's strategic advantage over Nepal, and the tiny kingdom endangers itself by choosing the wrong friends. (notes)

#### PAKISTAN

Ahmed, Akbar S. Religion and Politics in Muslim Society: Order and Conflict in Pakistan. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1983. 192 pp.

The author begins this unusual book by pointing out that he is a native of the country under examination, and a participant in the drama: hence his analysis will be somewhat biased. However, these factors create a stimulating immediacy in his discussion of a tribal-based conflict which began for economic reasons, turned political, and ended in violence throughout one agency (administrative district) of Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province in the 1970s. The agitator in question was a mullah who cleverly manipulated the confusion with which Islam faces many modern innovations, and in so doing gained a passionate following, which was willing to take up arms against the local government officials. Ahmed, a political officer in the agency, late in the sequence of events, derives from this story a social model which incorporates change as the result of internal rather than external dynamics, and which specifically appreciates the possibility of a charismatic personality as a historical force. (bibliography, charts, maps, notes, photographs)

"Dismounting with Dignity." The Economist, 10 December 1983, p. 13.

Two martial law governments have recently given over to elected heads: Argentina is now a fully democratic nation and Turkey's new President retains

martial law and a role for the military, while loosening other public controls. President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan admires Turkey's President Evren; maybe if his personal safety could be assured, Zia would accept as much or more civilian power than Evren does. The editorial also points out that fair, open elections would humiliate the Pakistan People's Party, which has virtually no support outside the Sind. The writers praise the example of the late President of Bangladesh, Ziaur Rahman, who was assassinated as soon as he began walking the road to democracy.

Haqqani, Husain. "Non-party Democracy." Far Eastern Economic Review, 10 November 1983, p. 48.

Pakistan's President Zia ul Haq thinks political parties are un-Islamic and he would prefer the elections he has promised before 1985 to be carried out on a non-party basis. He believes parties will be allowed after the polling. This has annoyed some Islamic scholars who are also party supporters: how can parties change from un-Islamic to Islamic just because elections have taken place? President Zia's assurance that the current appointed parliament will remain in place until its elected successor is ready to be sworn in, as well as his concern for continuity in government, have led to speculation that the change will be transformation rather than transfer.

Lodhi, Maleeha. "A Nation at Risk." South, The Third World Magazine, December 1983, p. 22.

The strategic Punjab state is not as stable as it may appear: lack of credible leadership behind which to oppose President Zia may be the key to its relative calm. Demonstrations involving various groups have taken on a persistent, if not widespread character. The President continues to resist, but he simultaneously offers his opponents the hope that he will hold early elections if they will agree to his limiting terms: party registration and amendments to the 1973 Constitution. Meanwhile, the government has been forced to deny that it has used extreme force against civilians during the recent unrest.

Morello, Ted. "Ripe for Action." Far Eastern Economic Review, 8 December 1983, p. 43.

After months of "indirect negotiations" in Geneva, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar wants to see some movement into substantive issues. Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan has turned in a program proposal, which remains secret. The Foreign Minister's public remarks suggest that he has called for a Soviet troop withdrawal taking 6 months (Kabul-Moscow has proposed 12-18 months), as well as urgent repatriation of the 3 million Afghan refugees perhaps with assistance from UNHCR polling devices. Now Kabul-Moscow must turn in a proposal.

Ram, Raghunath. Soviet Policy Towards Pakistan. New Delhi: S. Chand, 1983, 222 pp.

The Soviet Union rejected the idea of a religiously-based nation when Pakistan was first proposed, and saw an Islamic state on its borders as a continuation of British divide-and-rule policies. The author uses public documents and newspapers from both countries to chart their rocky relations. In the 1950s British influence gave way to American. Predominant American influence abruptly ended on 1 May 1960 when the Soviets shot down a US spy plane which had penetrated their territory after taking off from Pakistan. For the next few years Pakistan's relations with the US worsened, for reasons which the author elucidates clearly, but the Soviet Union proved unable to fill the void due to its close ties with India and Afghanistan. The author brings out the role of the peripatetic Z. A. Bhutto, as Minister of Commerce and then Fuel, Power and Natural Resources, negotiating trade and development relationships with the Soviet bloc that are still in effect. Although Ram neglects the importance of Soviet-Afghan relations, this book otherwise inspects its subject thoroughly, and ends with a concise list of milestones in the relationship between the two nations. (index, notes)

"The Sabres Rattle." Far Eastern Economic Review, 8 December 1983, p. 40.

Tensions between India and Pakistan have reached a historical high level, but the Indian Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis says war is not likely. Prime Minister Gandhi insists that India faces grave dangers from Pakistan and "other agencies," and the country cannot withstand such threats during political quarrels. Opposition figures say she is trying to bluff the voters in order to call and win an election in early 1984. Although seasonal troop movements take place every year at this time, Pakistan's scale of build-up is unusual: 4 corps with the strength of 12 divisions. One possible reason: to protect the border during a crackdown in Sind.

"The Unrest Bubbles on." Asiaweek, 25 November 1983, p. 21.

Political unrest in Sind has not met the early demise predicted by President Zia, so the Pakistani strongman has unleashed military forces to quell the disorders. Punjabi residents have remained quiet, not because they are satisfied with President Zia, but because they are reluctant to provoke troops, who mostly hail from their own province. While government officials express confidence that elections will be held as promised by March 1985, opposition figures remember that Zia has twice reneged as the polling date drew near.

"World War Declared on Pakistan Heroin." Arabia, the Islamic World Review, November 1983, p. 64.

During the 1970s Mideast drug traffickers developed cheaper, mobile refining equipment for opium which allows local communities to produce their own finished product (heroin) and retain more of the profit. At the same time international crackdowns made it safer to transship the more compact

anonymous powder than the bulky raw opium. Pakistan has seen an increase in drug production as a result of this, and of the closure of other sources to the international market. The tribal areas bordering Afghanistan are particularly difficult to police because they follow a tradition of indirect rule. Experience in other countries has shown that the only longterm method for eliminating drug production is crop substitution for equal or better income. It has also shown that pressure on one source only intensifies production somewhere else in the world. Nevertheless, the sudden massive availability of cheap heroin has claimed thousands of Pakistani victims, and a cleanup in their country could benefit Pakistanis themselves.

Zabolotsky, Alexander. "Pakistan's Economic Problems and Demographic Policy." Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 7 (Fall 1983), p. 57.

The author lucidly examines several modern social problems having demographic roots and/or implications. The growth in the population rate in the 1960s has led to a surplus of labor; now many young people are educated and have resettled in the cities to look for work. Meanwhile, the rural situation deteriorates both ecologically and economically as mechanization and other policies increase the failure rate among marginal landholders and drive them to destructive intensive cultivation techniques. Zabolotsky finally analyzes Pakistan's population control measures, which he views as having little hope for success, not only because political instability has weakened delivery systems, but also because the current government's Islamization policy works against giving women any more important social status than can be derived from having babies. (tables)

#### SOUTH ASIA

Dowdy, William L. and Trood, Russell B. "The Indian Ocean: an Emerging Geostrategic Region." International Journal, vol. 38 (Summer 1983), p. 432.

This excellent description of the Indian Ocean littoral and island states follows their interrelations, both historically and currently, as causative elements in today's international relations. More than half of all Third World nations bound this water, and only Burma, East and West Bengal, and Iraq have major inland navigation--thus placing extreme reliance on commerce across the Ocean, and at its choke points in the Mideast and Far East. Most Indian Ocean states rely on the export of one or two commodities for the majority of their foreign earnings, and underdevelopment has left them unable to serve each other as markets. They differ most significantly by whether they import or export petroleum. With varying degrees of success, the Indian Ocean states have begun integrating themselves into subregional cooperation councils for economic development. Strategically, the states have been trying to formulate diplomatic counters to the build-up of French, US, and USSR navies in the Indian Ocean.

Hochtre, Christian. "The Indian Ocean Triangle." L'Express. English-language excerpt available in World Press Review, December 1983, p. 50.

This concise compilation of political information on the Indian Ocean and its littoral states clearly shows why the French, the Americans and the Soviets maintain naval operations in the area. "Forty per cent of the world's hydrocarbon passes over the Indian Ocean." Thirty-seven countries lie alongside the Indian Ocean, making up one-third of the world's population. The three naval powers in place have employed different presence-building strategies, based on their differing opportunities, which are neatly rehearsed in the article.

Rais, Rasul B. "An Appraisal of US Strategy in the Indian Ocean." Asian Survey, vol. 23 (September 1983), p. 1043.

In the early 1970s US policymakers perceived an end to the system by which stability had been maintained in the Indian Ocean, particularly the Persian Gulf area, and tried to correct the deficiency. Rais evaluates what has been done in force build-up and how much more remains to be done in command integration, weapons and vehicle delivery. He also points out that current basing agreements do not position the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) close enough to fly into key areas. The answer to this problem may be offshore basing, with acquisition of specific vessels for the purpose. He calls for a sharpening of focus in the strategy, with increased pressure on our NATO and Japanese allies to follow the French example in gearing up for their own security in the region.

#### SRI LANKA

Narayan, S. Venkat. "Breakthrough at Last." India Today, 30 November 1983, p. 77.

Following the past summer's ethnic violence in Sri Lanka, the island's economy has suffered. Aid donors have become reluctant to discuss new projects, and declining tourism has cut into a major source of foreign exchange. With this in mind, President Junius Jayewardene and Indian representative Gopalaswami Parthasarathi have arrived at a framework for communal negotiations and settlements: that the Tamil minority give up demands for a separate state and recognize the Central Government as the administrative power in Sri Lanka. However, the Central Government will strike a compromise by proposing a series of District Councils which may have greater authority than extant local bodies which the Tamils reject as ineffective. Whether the Tamils will accept these conditions remains to be seen; their major party, the TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front) has refused to abandon its pro forma insistence on a separate Tamil state. However, the Sinhalese majority may finally be coming to understand the losses which Tamils have borne both to their dignity and to their property.

Narayan, S. Venkat. "Guarded Optimism." India Today, 15 December 1983, p. 48.

President Jayewardene and TULF leaders moved closer to compromise, assisted by Indian mediator Parthasarathi and moderate Sri Lankan ministers. In particular, Minister for Rural Industrial Development S. Thondaman confronted his hawkish colleagues with Sri Lanka's precipitous collapse in international standing following the violence, and its failure to resolve ethnic differences. TULF leaders have similarly recognized some merit in President Jayewardene's provincial district scheme. In an interview accompanying the article, TULF leader Amarthalingam reemphasizes that his party insists on receiving the eastern and northern sections of the country as a united province for Tamils. He also denies that Tamils displaced in the rioting have been willing to return to their homes.

"Picking up the Pieces, Slowly." Asiaweek, 25 November 1983, p. 22.

Indian negotiator G. Parthasarathi has achieved an initial breakthrough in Sri Lanka's ethnic difficulties with regional autonomy ideas. However, the longstanding hatreds which bred last summer's violence are likely to last far into the future. Worldly opinion has tended to back the Tamils, despite government censorship of dispatches to foreign media. The government has undertaken a similar campaign for public sympathy, focusing attention on Tamil terrorism and using official statistics on employment and university admission to show Tamil progress. But Tamils have begun emigrating to the western democracies, especially if they have entrepreneurial skill--a development which is likely to further set back the beleaguered Sri Lankan minority.